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APPENDIX

TO THE
AMERICAN GAZETTE;
CONTAINING AN

APPEAL to the WORLD:

OR,

A VINDICATION of
The TOWN of BOSTON,

FROM

Many False and Malicious Aspersions,

CONTAINED IN

Certain LETTERS and MEMORIALS,

WRITTEN BY

Governor BERNARD, General GAGE, Commodore
HOOD, the COMMISSIONERS of the American Board
of Customs, and Others;

And by them respectively transmitted to

The BRITISH MINISTRY.

PUBLISHED by ORDER of the TOWN.

BOSTON,

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M.DCC.LXIX.

*At a Meeting of the Town of BOSTON,
legally assembled, on Wednesday October
the 4th, and thence continued by Ad-
jourment to Wednesday October 11,
1769.*

THE following Remarks, upon the Letters
written by Governor Bernard, and others,
were ordered to be published ; and the Com-
mittee were directed respectfully to transmit a
printed Copy of the same to the following
Gentlemen, viz. The Honourable Colonel Isaac
Barré, Esq; Member of Parliament ; his Ex-
cellency Thomas Pownal, Esq; late Governor
of this Province, and a Member of Parliament ;
Benjamin Franklin, Esq; Doctor of Laws ;
William Bollan, Esq; Agent for his Majesty's
Council of this Province ; Dennys De Berdt,
Esq; Agent for the House of Representatives ;
and Barlow Trecothick, Esq; Alderman of the
City of LONDON, and a Member of Parliament.

Attest.

William Cooper, Town-Clerk.



APPENDIX, &c.

THE Town of Boston having, by the generous Care of WILLIAM BOLLAN, Esq; formerly a very worthy Inhabitant in it, but now a Resident in London, received authentic Copies of Letters, Memorials, &c. written by Governor Bernard, General Gage, Commodore Hood, the Commissioners of the American Board of Customs and others, and laid before the Parliament; which contain many base Insinuations and virulent Charges of an high Nature against the Town: The Freeholders and Inhabitants, in a legal Town Meeting, assembled for the Purpose, have considered the same. As they have not yet been favoured with the particular Vouchers, if indeed these Gentlemen have produced any to the Ministry, before whom they laid their Accusations, it cannot be expected they should be enabled to make so full a Vindication of the Town as otherwise they might: They have however endeavoured to extract from these Writings, so far as the Town is concerned in them, and to lay before the Public their true Spirit: From whence it will appear how restless Governor Bernard and his Associates have been in their malicious Intrigues to traduce not this Town and Province, alone, but the whole British American Continent.

In his Letter to the Earl of Shelburne, dated March 19th, 1768, he tells his Lordship, that " he sees such an Opposition to the Commissioners and their Officers, and such a Defiance to the Authority by which they are appointed, continually growing, that he can no longer excuse his informing his Lordship of the Detail of Facts, from whence the most dangerous Consequences are to be expected."-----It is ob-

observable here, how artfully he connects an Opposition to the Commissioners with a Defiance of the Authority by which they are appointed ; and this with an apparent Design to represent this Town as disaffected to his Majesty's Government in general, than which nothing can be more false and malicious. That the People should entertain the highest Disgust of a Board, instituted to superintend a Revenue to be raised from them without their Consent, which was, and still is, exacted with the utmost Rigour, is natural ; after they had so loudly as well as justly complained of the Revenue itself, as depriving them of the very Idea of Liberty : But it cannot be said, with the least Appearance of Truth, that they set at Defiance the King's Authority, at the very Time when they were actually yielding Obedience to those Revenue Laws, under all the Hardships of them, and were patiently waiting for the happy Issue of their just Complaints, and their humble Petitions to their Sovereign for the Redress of their Grievances.— The Commissioners had however at that Time surely no reasonable Grounds to expect any Injury to their Persons, or Interruption in their Office ; for they had been more than four Months in the Town, without the least Danger of this Kind ; although they had, from their first Arrival, discover'd such an Arrogance and Insolence of Office, as led many Persons to apprehend, that they aimed at nothing less than provoking the People to such a Degree of Intemperance as to make an Appearance of it. But being disappointed in this, mere Shifts and Pretensions are to be sought after ; and accordingly we find Mr. Bernard beginning his "*Detail*" to his Lordship, with telling him there had been "*frequent Reports of Insurrections intended ; in which it had been said, the Houses of one or more of the Commissioners were to be pulled down.*" The Governor, it is to be observed, relies much upon *Reports* in his Letters, even to Ministers of State ; while few if any among us ever heard of such Reports : He does not so much as attempt to make it appear to his Lordship, that these frequent Reports were brought to him by Persons of Credit, or that they were well grounded ; and it is very much to be questioned, whether he received his Intelligence from any other Persons, but the Commissioners themselves, their Dependants and Expectants, the Number of whom are increased to an enormous Degree, more than sufficient to devour the whole Revenue, and many of them are of the most abandoned Characters.

But

But to give a Colouring to these Ideas of an Insurrection, there must be something more alledged than barely that there had been frequent Reports of its being intended ; and therefore his Lordship is told of an Event which in Fact took place as some few remember, but the Story is wrought up by the Governor with all the Strokes of masterly Invention to serve the Purpose. " A Number of Lads," says he, paraded the Town with a Drum and Horn." And what possible Harm could there be in that ? Why, among other Houses, " they passed by the Council-Chamber when he was sitting in Council : " And did they stop to insult the Governor and Council ? Such a Circumstance would doubtless have embellished his Excellency's Narrative. Their passing by however carried the Air of an Insult, tho', in all Likelihood, the unlucky Boys might not know that his Excellency was there.---But they had " assembled before Mr. Paxton's House," and lest it should be forgot, his Lordship is reminded that Mr. Paxton is " a *Commissioner*." And did they do Mr. Paxton, the Commissioner, any Injury ? Yes, truly ; " they huzza'd, and went off.---Then they " invested Mr. Birch's House,"---and his Lordship is also told, that Mr. Burch is " *another Commissioner*," and " his Lady and Children were obliged to go out of the Back Door to avoid the Danger that was threatened ; " so that they were not threatened with Mischief, but with Danger only. It has been usual for the Commissioners to affect an Apprehension of Danger to themselves and their Families, to serve the Purposes they had in View. There is indeed no accounting for the real Fears of Women and Children : The Ladies however can sometimes vie with their Husbands in Intrigue, and are thoroughly versed in the Art even of *political* Appearance. And it is said that *all* are Politicians in this Country : Whether this Lady, whom Gov. Bernard has *politely* ushered into the View of the Public, *really* thought herself in Danger or not, it is incumbent on him to shew that there were just Grounds for her Apprehensions, that Mr. Burch's House was in Fact " invested," and that " the most dangerous Consequences were to be expected." The World may be assured, there was not the least Appearance of this Kind ; and yet, these are Mr. Bernard's own Declarations to his Majesty's Ministers, grounded upon vague and idle Reports, beneath one of his

Rank and Station to take any notice of, and especially with a Design to misrepresent. He expresses a Surprize, and surely he must counterfeit, that this Matter of "the Parade with the Drum and Horn," was after all treated as the Diverſion of a few Boys, as it is ſtill thought to have been by all who can remember ſo trifling an Occurrence, except the Governor and his Adherents---the Diverſion of a few *innocent*, tho' perhaps vulgar Boys, who neither did nor intended to do the leaſt Harm to them or any other Perſons, nor were they able to affect it, if they had ſuch a Design. But after this, ſays Mr. Bernard, "it was *reported*, that the *Infurrection* was poſtponed till the 18th of March"—The Idea is ſtill kept up of a *deſigned* Infurrection; how elſe could it be *poſtponed*? and "two Perſons, ſays he, one of them Mr. Paxton, a *Commiſſioner*, were mentioned as devoted to the Reſentment of the Mob." It is ſtrange that no Perſons ſhould have heard of all this but the Governor and his *Informers*; for he tells his Lordſhip, that he "took all the Pains he could to diſcover the Truth of this Report;" and "on the very day before, he ſpoke with the moſt knowing Men he could procure," who had heard nothing about the Matter. At length, however, "late in the Evening, he had certain Advice, that Effigies were prepared, but it was too late to do any Thing, and---his Information was of *that Nature*, he could not make Uſe of it *in Public*." To induce his Lordſhip however to believe that the Reports of the *Infurrection*, which was poſtponed on the 18th of March, with every Circumſtance as juſt now related, were well grounded, he tells him, as if it was deſigned to be the Prelude to the whole, that "early in the Morning the Sheriff informed him, that the Effigies of Mr. Paxton and Mr. Williams were in Truth hanging upon Liberty Tree!"-----There was in the Time of it, a ſtrong Suſpicion in the Minds of many, that theſe Effigies were hung up by ſome *particular Perſons* on that Day (which was to be obſerved as a Day of Feſtivity) with a Design to give a Colouring to juſt ſuch a Representation as Gov. Bernard now makes.---There are Perſons here capable of playing ſuch a Game; and there are ſome Circumſtances which make it appear that ſuch a Suſpicion was not groundleſs. Particularly it is difficult to account for Governor Bernard's neglecting to give Orders to prevent their being hung up after he *certainly* knew it was intended;

intended; and that he should pretend it was too late the Evening before; but especially, his not chusing to make Use of his Information, or it may rather be supposed his Informant's Name is public, unless it was thro' Fear of discovering the Plot, is dark and unaccountable.—If there was a Design of this Nature, it must have been truly mortifying to those who were in the Secret, that the Design was so soon frustrated: For before the Governor could meet his Council, which he had *prudently* “ the Day before summoned to meet,” and while he was “ sending round to get them together as soon as possible it might be; amidst all these *careful* Preparations, the Effigies, says the Governor, “ were taken down by some of the *Neighbours* without Opposition!” Their being thus, perhaps unexpectedly, taken down, is sufficient to evince the good Disposition of the Inhabitants in general: That *They* were not in the Plan of an Insurrection, *whoever else might be*, and that the Governor therefore might with Safety, *if he had been so inclined*, make use of his Information in public—It might possibly indeed have totally overthrown his design in writing this very Letter to his Lordship.

But the best Improvement is to be made of every appearance: Accordingly the Governor hastens to his Council, who were then met, agreeable to his appointment the *Day before*, and there he tells his Lordship, he “ set forth in strong Terms the Atrociousness of this Insult; the Danger of its being followed by actual Violence, and the necessity there was of *providing for the Peace of the Town*.” However atrocious the Insult might be, where could be the Danger of its being followed by actual violence, when some of the Inhabitants themselves, had taken down the Effigies, with, at least the tacit Consent of the whole Community: for it was done without the Opposition expected, perhaps *hoped for*: And what necessity of providing for the Peace of the Town, when the People already discovered so peaceable a Disposition. It would doubtless have pleased the Governor well, if his Council had advised to some *severe* Measures; such as might have afforded a firmer Foundation for him to have represented the Town as upon the Eve of an Insurrection, than groundless Reports or Informations, from his own Pimps, which it was not *prudent* for

for him to make use of in public. But "all he could say" to that Purpose, though he strove hard for it, "made no Impression on the Council;" They, says he, "persevered in treating the Affair as of no Consequence" as well they might; for it is questionable after all, whether there was the least Apprehension then of any Commotion even in the Mind of the Governor himself, whatever were his Pretensions. The Commissioners however took this Opportunity "of setting forth the Danger *they* apprehended;" and the Governor, very readily no doubt, took the Occasion to acquaint the King's Minister, that he had received a Letter from the Commissioners, "*desiring the Protection of the Government.*"

Mr. Bernard proceeds in his Narrative, and entertains his Lordship with a very minute Account of the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Repeal of the Stamp-Act; and "the terrible Night it produced"—to Mr. Burch, *one of the Commissioners*, and his Lady and Children, who had moved to his House for Safety;—"to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Sheriff of the County, who were also with him;" and in fine to all "those who thought themselves Objects of the popular *Fury*." It may be here observed as in general true, that no Man has Reason to fear the popular Fury, but he who is conscious to himself of having done that which has exposed him to their just Resentment—The Governor himself owns that "the Selectmen of the Town" and "some others," and even the Gentlemen who dined at two Taverns near the Town-House, upon the Occasion of the Day "took great Pains that the Festivity should not produce a Riot." There is no Reason to suppose this was mentioned for the Sake of giving a Credit to any of those Gentlemen, but rather to insinuate that the People were so outrageously disposed as that they could not be restrained even by their own *Leaders*; for most of those whom the Governor had *honored* with that Character were present. The Truth is, none of them were apprehensive that *their* Festivity would produce a Riot; but they were careful to prevent the lighting a Bonfire, because the Governor had constantly represented that as "the usual Signal for a Mob;" and the Joys of the Evening among the lower Sort, which however innocent
are

are sometimes noisy, would of Course be represented as riotous. And thus he did in Fact represent it to his Lordship; for he tells him that " many Hundreds of People of all Kinds, Sexes and Ages, paraded the Streets with Yells and Outcries"—That they " invested Mr. Williams's House"—That " at two different Times about Midnight they made Outcries about Mr. Paxton's House." And tho' after all, he owns it was " out of mere Wantonness," yet he says " the whole made it a terrible Night." This is Painting indeed, much beyond the Life: But Mr. Bernard has the Art in Perfection. He could not however persuade even General Gage, to give it such a Colouring; for the General in his Letter to Lord Hillsborough dated Boston the 31st of October, 1768, tells his Lordship quite otherwise; and that " according to the best Information he had been able to procure, the Disturbance in March (which was this very Instance) far from being " terrible as the Governor represents it, was in Truth " trifling." This being the Account given by one of the principal Servants of the Crown in America, and who has discovered himself far from being partial *in favor* of the Town, it is needless to add any Thing further on this Head—*Trifling* as indeed this " Disturbance" was, such Improvements were made of it by Governor Bernard and others; that it occasioned the ordering two Regiments from Halifax to this Town for a Purpose for which the military Power was certainly never designed; a very dangerous Purpose, and abhorrent to the British Constitution and the Spirit of a free Government, namely to Support the Civil Authority—A Measure which has caused continual Terror to his Majesty's peaceable Subjects here, and has been productive of more Disturbance and Confusion than has been known in the Memory of any now living, or than is recorded by any Historian, even the most *partial* against this Country.

We shall now take Notice of Governor Bernard's Letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated Boston, June 11, 1768, wherein he gives his Lordship an Account " of a great Riot that happened in this Town the preceding Evening." And it must be confessed there was a Riot on that Evening, which is by no means to be justified. It was however far from being so great an one as the Governor represents it to be.—

be.—The Collector and Comptroller of the Customs indeed represent it as a “numerous Mob,” but they being particularly interested, their Fears might deceive them.—It was not a numerous Mob; nor was it of long continuance, neither was their much mischief done. It was occasioned by the unprecedented and unlawful Manner of seizing a Vessel by the Collector and Comptroller: And considering their illegal Proceedings in making their Seizure, attended with the most irritating Circumstances which occasioned this Mob—the intolerable haughty Behaviour which the Commissioners who ordered this Seizure, had constantly before discovered towards the People—the frequent Threats which had been given out, that the Town should be put under a Military Government, and the armed Force actually employed as a Prelude to it, it cannot be wondered at, that in a populous Town, such high Provocations, and the sudden Exertion of Lawless Power, should excite the resentment of some Persons beyond the Bounds of Reason, and carry them into Excess.—We cannot state the Circumstances of this Affair with greater Impartiality, than by reciting the Sentiments of his Majesty’s Council after two Days Enquiry and Consideration, in their own Expressions, viz.

“HIS Excellency having laid before the Board a Representation of some Transactions relating to, and in Consequence of the Disorders in the Town of Boston on the Evening of the 10th of June last, the Board think it necessary in Justice to the Town and Province, and in Vindication of themselves, to make some Observations thereon, and to give a fuller Representation than is contained in the Paper laid before the Board.

“With Regard to the said Disorders, it is to be observed that they were occasioned by the making a Seizure (in a Manner unprecedented) in the Town of Boston on the said 10th of June, a little before Sunset, when a Vessel was seized by several of the Officers of the Customs; and immediately after, on a Signal given by one of the said Officers, in Consequence of a preconcerted Plan, several armed Boats from the Romney Man of War took Possession of her, cut her Fast, and carried her from the Wharf where she lay, into the Harbour, along side the Romney; which

which occasioned a Number of People to be collected, some of whom, from the Violence and Unprecedentedness of the Procedure with Regard to the taking away of the said Vessel, and the Reflection thereby implied upon the Inhabitants of the Town, as disposed to rescue any Seizure that might be made, took Occasion to insult and abuse the said Officers, and afterwards to break some of the Windows of their Dwelling Houses, and to commit other Disorders. Now, though the Board have the utmost Abhorrence of all such disorderly Proceedings, and would by no Means attempt to justify them, they are obliged to mention the Occasion of them, in order to shew, that however culpable the said disorderly Persons were, the Officers who seized, or those by whose Orders such unusual and violent Measures as were pursued in seizing and taking away the said Vessel, were not faultless: It being highly probable that no such Disorders would have been committed, if the Vessel had not been with an armed Force, and with many Circumstances of Insult and Threats, "carried away from the Wharf."

The Council further say, "With regard to what happened on the 10th of June, it seems to have sprung wholly from the Persons who complain of it, by the Plan laid and the Orders given for making the Seizure aforesaid, and carrying it away by an armed Force. Which Circumstances, together with the Time of Day of seizing the Vessel, makes it seem probable that an Uproar was hoped for and intended to be occasioned by the Manner of Proceeding in making the Seizure."

From this impartial State of the Matter, it must evidently appear to every candid Mind, that the Opposition was made, not at all to the seizing of the Vessel by the Officers of the Customs, but wholly to the *Manner* in which it was secured; and that if it had been done in the usual Manner, as the Council afterwards say, "it would have remained secure in the Hands of the Officers"—This corresponds with the Commissioners own Account; for they say in their Letter to Governor Bernard, June 12, that they received a verbal Message from the People to the following Purpose, "that if the Sloop seized was brought back

to Mr. Hancock's Wharf, upon Security given to answer the Prosecution, the Town might be kept *quiet*." But this pacific Proposal, though brought to them as they acknowledge "by a Person of Credit," they expressly declare, "appeared to them as a *Menace*," and it was in Fact one of their very Reasons for requesting the Governor to give Directions that they might be received into the Castle for Protection—So totally regardless were they of the Peace of the Town, and so excessively fond of being thought by others as important as they fancied themselves to be, that when this reasonable and timely Proposal was brought to them even by a Person of Credit in *their own Esteem*, they haughtily replied, that "they gave no Answers to *verbal* Messuages," which plainly indicated either a Wantonness of Power in them beyond all bounds, or the Hopes, if not the Intentions, of a further Uproar.—

Governor Bernard tells his Lordship, that this Riot "had very bad Consequences;" which is undoubtedly true: The exaggerated Accounts which he and the Commissioners gave of it to the Ministry, and their taking Occasion to represent the Town itself as in a State of Disobedience to all Law and Authority, and indeed the whole Continent as ripe for a Revolt, were attended with the worst of Consequences to the Town. The Commissioners say, in plain Terms, that "there had been a long and *extensive* Plan of Resistance to the Authority of Great Britain," and that the Seizure referred to "had hastened the People of Boston to the Commission of actual Violence sooner than was intended." Such *inflammatory* Representations as these had the Effects which they had long wished for; and induced the Ministry to order two other Regiments to this Town; the Consequence of which, if they or any of them, are continued, it is to be feared, far from reconciling the People to the present Measures of Administration, will only increase their Discontent, and even alienate their Affections,

The Governor, in the Postscript to the Letter, June 13, mentions his having Intelligence from the Commissioners of some *Particulars* from whence *they concluded*, that they were immediately exposed to further Violences, and desired Protection at the Castle.—This Intelligence is contained

in their Letter of June 12, just now mentioned, wherein they take upon themselves to charge the Government with having used no Measures for securing the Peace of the Town, alledging, in general Terms, that "there was the strongest Reason to expect further Violences." And they further say, that "His Excellency himself had acquainted them that *Boston was no Place of Safety for them.*" Here we see that the Intelligence which the Governor represents to his Lordship as having been received by him from the Commissioners, he first communicated *to them*; and thereupon they grounded their pretended Fears in their Letter *to him*, and desire the Protection of the Government. This is all of a Piece, and may serve to explain the frequent Rumours of an Insurrection, mentioned in a former Letter, and from what Quarter these frequent Rumours came. It shews the Combination, and the settled Design of the Governor and the Commissioners, to blacken the Character of the Town; and how dextrously they can play into each others Hands. — The Governor the next Day, June 13, wrote to the Commissioners, and acquainted them, that "having communicated their Letter of the 12th to the Council, they desired him to inform them that, during the Sitting of the Council on Saturday Morning, there was no Reason at all given to expect further Violences, and that there was no Apprehension, either in *the Governor* or the Council, of immediate Danger." It is incumbent on the Governor, or his Friend, *if he has any*, to reconcile this with what he had before told the Commissioners, "that Boston was no Place of Safety for them." It seems Governor Bernard was perpetually teasing the Council with the Commissioners vague Reports of an Insurrection, and of the Danger they were in; and indeed it appears to be the main Point in View to persuade the Council, if possible, into a Belief of it, or if not, to form a Complaint to the Ministry that they were negligent of their Duty in not advising to proper Measures for the Protection of the Commissioners; and from thence to enforce a Necessity of military Force to restore and support Government in Boston. — Why did he not lay before the Council the *Particulars*, which he tells his Lordship he had received from the Commissioners, from whence *they concluded* that they were exposed to further Violences? This we hear nothing of;

perhaps the Intelligence, like that which he mentions in a former Letter, " was of such a Nature that he could not make Use of it in Public." He indeed tells the Commissioners that " he had informed the Council of their *present* Apprehensions of further Violences, and that they were then taking the same into Consideration.--- But he should have fairly represented this Matter to the Commissioners, and told them, that the Council had *already* taken the same into Consideration, and come to a Conclusion, as in Fact they had ; for by their own Minutes we find, that " the Matter being *fully debated*, it appeared to the Board that there was no immediate Danger of fresh Disturbances." They at the same Time advised that the Matter should be laid before the General Court then sitting, and postponed the Consideration of it by them, *as of Council to the Governor*, till the Effect of such a Proposal should be known. All this the Governor knew ; how then could he consistently say, that they were *then* taking it into Consideration. He tells Lord Hillsborough that " He was against the Business being laid before the General Court, but was obliged to give it up ;" and that " he had many Objections to the Measure." He knew very well that the drawing this Matter into open Day-light, would effectually defeat his Design ; and that the Intention of bringing the Council, if possible, to join with the Governor in requiring the Military Force, or accusing them of Negligence in case they did not, would thereby be entirely frustrated.—The removing the Business to the General Court, he tells his Lordship, was however, upon *one Consideration*, not " entirely to his Dissatisfaction ;" for he says it was then, in a great Measure, " taken out of his Hands ;" and he concludes, that, " as he cannot conduct this Business as it ought to be," or rather as he chose it should be, " it may be best for him to have but little Hand in it."—It may not be amiss here to recite the Declaration of his Majesty's Council at a full Board, on the 29th of July, six Weeks after the Commissioners *voluntary* Exile to the Castle, in consequence of these *pretended* Apprehensions of further Violences. The Council say, " the Commissioners were not obliged to quit the Town ; there never had been any Insult offered to them ; their quitting the Town was a voluntary Act of their own ; we do not apprehend there was
any

any sufficient Ground for their quitting it; and, when they had quitted it, and were at the Castle, there was no Occasion for Men of War to protect them." Such an Authority, will, no doubt, be deemed sufficient to vindicate the Town from this Aspersions; especially, As the Council had then had Time coolly to recollect the Matter: As they had borne their full Testimony against the Disorders, and taken every Step which belonged to their Department, to bring the Offenders to condign Punishment: But more especially, as that very Board had always before supported the Governor's Measures to the utmost Extent that their Consciences would allow, and many Times against the general Sentiments of the People, for which they had gained the Governor's Applause, and his particular Recommendations to his Majesty's Minister; and he himself could at this Time have no other exception to any Part of their Conduct, but their Opposition to his *favorite* plan, to introduce a military Government into the town, without the least Colour of Necessity, and thereby to break thro' the Mounds, and tear up the very Foundation of the civil Constitution.

The Governor in his Letter to Lord Hillsborough of the 14th of June, being resolved to give his Lordship an exact *Detail* of every Occurrence "from whence the most dangerous Consequences are to be expected," takes Occasion to mention "a Paper stuck up on Liberty Tree." This Paper, he had said in his Letter of the 13th, contained "an Invitation of the Sons of Liberty to meet at Six o'Clock to clear the Land of the Vermin which were come to devour them." A very innocent, if not laudable Proposal, for which the Country should think itself obliged to them, to be sure if they could have effected their Design. But in this Letter it is called "a violent and virulent Invitation to *rise that Night* to clear that Country of the Commissioners and their Officers, to avenge themselves of the Custom-house Officers, and put one of them to Death!" And, still more alarming, "there were also some indecent Threats against the Governor!" Could the Governor think that by the Vermin that were come to devour the Land they meant his Excellency and the Commissioners! But perhaps the Mind of the Sheriff who brought this Information to the Governor was somewhat agitated with the Fears of an Insurrection; and moreover,

we may presume that he had not seen the Paper himself, but took it from *Report*, in Conformity to the Example of the Governor, who believed or pretended to believe every Word of it, till he had the mortifying Sight of the true Contents of this *very important* Paper; of which the following as he himself at length tells his Lordship is "an exact Copy," viz. Boston, June 13, 1768. The Sons of Liberty request all those who in this Time of Oppression and Distraction wish well to and would promote the Peace, Good-Order and Security of the Town and Province, to assemble at Liberty-Hall, under Liberty-Tree, on Tuesday the 14th Instant, at Ten o'Clock precisely.—It might have been supposed that so harmless a Thing would have given Offence to none. In the first Place the Matters alledged in it were confessedly true: That this was a Time of Oppression, the People all felt: That it was a Time of Distraction, the Governor and the Commissioners loudly proclaimed: A Design then at such a Time to promote the Peace, Good-Order, and Security of the Town, was at least unexceptionable. But the Governor complains that "it was not considered as an Implication of Danger:" Strange would it have been indeed, if so salutary a Proposal as the promoting the Peace, Good-Order and Security of the Town had been thus considered. "Neither, says he, was the *Impropriety* of the Sons of Liberty appointing a Meeting to secure the Peace of the Town, when the Governor and Council were sitting upon that Business, and seemingly to little Purpose, taken much Notice of." But surely if the Governor and Council could be supposed to be sitting upon *such Business*, at *such a Time*, and seemingly to little Purpose, there could be no great Impropriety in other Peoples undertaking it. But without adopting by any Means the Measure, Is not here a striking Instance of the Disposition of Governor Bernard, and some others, to receive with the greatest Avidity the most aggravating Accounts of every trifling Occurrence that has happened, and without any Enquiry, to paint them to the Ministry in the deepest Colours! Behold a Meeting, the professed Design of which was to promote the Peace, Good-Order and Security of the Town, and that in open Day-Light, represented to the King's Minister as a Meeting designed to be held at six o'Clock, near Sun-set, in one Letter; and in another the next Day, "a most violent
and

and virulent Invitation to *rise that Night!* and clear the Country of the Commissioners,—threaten the Governor, and commit Murder!" In Consequence of which he tells the Council, there is "no Time to enquire into the *Particulars* of the former Riot." They are to be hurried to Measures to provide for the *Peace of the Town*; and to prevent "new Disturbances premeditated" and "immediately threatened;" and his Lordship is to be forthwith informed of it.—Certainly, every candid Person will from hence be inclined to believe all that Governor Bernard relates to the prejudice of this Town, or any particular Persons, with great Discretion.

His Letter of the 16th of June, for he seemed to be almost every Day employed in writing his "Detail" of *common Reports*, gives the Earl of Hillsborough an Account of "the Meeting at Liberty-Tree in pursuance of the printed Notice." And after entertaining his Lordship with a particular tho' awkward and inconsistent Description of the Tree, the vast Height of the Flag Staff, and the Design of hoisting the Flag, namely "for a Signal," which to be sure must be a Discovery quite new to his Lordship, he proceeds to say; that "at least 4000 Men assembled," that "the principal Gentlemen attended to engage the lower People to concur in Measures for Peace and Quiet," which was the professed End of their Meeting—that "one of the Selectmen was chosen Moderator or Chairman"—that "they adjourned to the Town-Hall" for the Accommodation of so large a Number. And there it being "objected that they were not a legal Meeting, they adjourned to the Afternoon," he should have said, broke up; and the Selectmen instead of "legalizing the Assembly" as it is oddly expressed, called a Town-Meeting agreeable to the Directions of the Law, to meet in the Afternoon. All this was certainly an innocent Proceeding, and the Governor himself, it is presumed did not think otherwise, for it happens for once, that he makes no particular Remarks upon it; and if it should be said of them, that they met *seemingly to little Purpose*, it might be said truly enough; but it is to be remembered, that another Assembly, with their Chairman at their Head, if the Governor's ludicrous Account of the Meeting of that very respectable Body could be credited, might in that Respect keep them in Countenance.—But
innocent

innocent as it was, the Governor did not chuse it should be thought that *he* viewed it in that Light, and therefore told the Council, and his Lordship afterwards, that "had it been the first Business of the Kind, he should have asked their Advice, whether he should not send to the General for Troops." And to show his own excessive Fondness for so arbitrary and violent a Measure, he adds, that "he was ready to do it, if any *one* Gentleman would propose it!"

The Governor then proceeds to give a *Detail* of the Meeting of the Town in the Afternoon; in which he tells his Lordship, that "many wild and violent Proposals were made." It ought here to be observed, that Governor Bernard constantly represents Bodies of Men, even the most respectable, by Proposals made by Individuals, which have been misrepresented by Pimps and Parasites, and perhaps aggravated by himself, instead of allowing them to stand or fall by their own Conclusions—Can any Thing be more base, more contrary to Equity than this?—What should we think of the most respectable Corporations at Home—what even of both Houses of Parliament, if they were to be judged of by every Motion that has been made, or every Expression that has dropped from Individuals in the Warmth of Debates. If it had been true that such Proposals were made, nay, if measures that could not have been altogether justified, had been even adopted by the Town, at a Time when every Art had been practised to irritate the People, and inflame their Minds, the candid Part of Mankind would have been ready to overlook it.—The Governor has often been observed to discover an Aversion to free Assemblies: No Wonder then that he should be so particularly disgusted at a legal Meeting of the Town of Boston, where a noble Freedom of Speech is ever expected and maintained: An Assembly of which it may be justly said, to borrow the Language of the ancient Roman, with a little Variation, *Sentire quæ volunt et quæ sentiat dicere licet*, They think as they please, and speak as they think. ————— Such an Assembly has ever been the Dread—often the Scourge of Tyrants—But these "wild and violent Proposals," which no one can recollect but the Governor, and perhaps his Informers, it seems were "warded off" as the Governor is pleased to express it, from whence it may be supposed that Prudence directed at this Meeting, "originated

ginated and composed as (he says) it was."—By these Expressions it is conceived, he would intimate to his Lordship that it was both illegal and tumultuous; and if that was his real Intention, the Insinuation was both false and injurious.—The Meeting was "originated" as the Law directs, and nothing was there concluded upon according to the Governor's own Account, but the Appointment of a Committee, which he himself says "in general was very respectable," to wait on him "with a Petition;" the receiving his Answer, as he is pleased to say, with "universal Approbation!" writing a Letter to a Friend, and voting such Instructions as they thought proper to their Representatives. After which he tells his Lordship they "broke up quietly, and the Meeting ended." But notwithstanding this quiet, and as may be concluded by the Governor's Account of it, *coalizing* Town Meeting, which consisted of so large a Number, and among whom he himself was so "popular" that even "the Moderator declared that he really believed he was a Well-wisher to the Province," (Thus saith Governor Bernard, but no one remembers or believes it) yet all this will not avail to soften his Mind or alter his Intentions. And although he tells his Lordship "the Romney and a Sloop of 16 Guns just come in will complete the Command of all the Approaches to the Castle, and other Ships of War are expected, so that the Security of the Commissioners is effectually provided for;" yet the *favourite Point* will not be carried, till the long-wished-for Troops arrive, to enforce his arbitrary Designs, and suppress the Spirit of Liberty. And now is the Time, if ever, to press the matter: Every Hand therefore must be set to work, and nothing will serve the Cause like continually holding up the Idea of an *Insurrection*. Accordingly we find one of the Auxiliaries, whose Letter, though anonymous, has Credit enough to appear in the List laid before Parliament, says, "It is *my* Opinion that the Promoters of the present Evils are ready to unmask, and openly to discover their long and latent Design to REBEL"—and—"involve this Country in Blood and Horror!" Another anonymous Writer, who is said to be "well acquainted with the State of the Town of Boston," says, that "He observes a Sourness in the Minds of the People in general," and adds, "He that runs may read, that without

speedy Interposition, a great Storm will arise." — The Collector and Comptroller of the Customs mention *with deep Concern*, as they affect to express themselves, "that a *general Spirit of INSURRECTION* prevails, not only in the Town, but throughout the *whole Provinces*." — The Commissioners themselves, in their Letter to General Gage, tell him, "that it is utterly impossible to carry on the Business of the Revenue in the Town of Boston, from the outrageous Behaviour of the People:" They acquaint the General "of the *alarming State* of Things in the Town, and desire him to *give them Protection*." And though Governor Bernard, when not so much on his Guard, or perhaps under some little Compunction of Mind, in his Letter to the Commissioners, June 13, gently chides them for their ill-grounded Fears, and tells them "he is *very sorry* that they think themselves so much in Danger in Boston (which he had before said was no Place of Safety for them) as to think it unsafe for them to reside there;" notwithstanding all this, yet in the Letter we are now considering, which was written nearly at the same Time, he positively assures his Lordship, that "if there is not a *REVOLT*, the Leaders must falsify their Words and change their Purposes." Perhaps he would have been more consistent if he had imagined these Letters would ever have seen the Light. He concludes his Letter with mentioning a few more "Papers stuck up on the Town-House." — No Evidence however appears to have accompanied all these heavy Charges upon a whole Community: But Governor Bernard and others seem to have conducted their Proscriptions as if they could have even foreseen, that the bold Assertions of Persons apparently inimical to a Country, anonymous Letters, Street-Conversation picked up by Pimps and Spies, and Papers stuck by no one knows whom on a publick Building, would be of so much Weight as to influence the Measures of Administration! Can any Person believe this a just Representation, when Governor Bernard, with all his Industry and *Aid*, has not been able to furnish Proof that any Body or Combination of Men, or even a single Person, had incurred a legal Penalty, if we except the Disturbances that happened on March and June already considered.

The Governor in his Letter of the 9th of July informs his Lordship of a *Manœuvre*, as he calls it, of the Sons of Liberty;

Liberty; a Number of them going out of Boston at the close of a certain Day in Parties, and meeting on each Side of a House in Roxbury, which Mr. Robinson (and his Lordship must be informed that he also was one of the Commissioners) had lately hired, with an Intention to surprize him and prevent his Escape; but he being at the Castle, *where the Commissioners had been driven for Safety*, they did nothing but plunder his Fruit-Trees. This is a very solemn Account indeed; but he never laid this "Mancœuvre of the Sons of Liberty," *extraordinary* as it was, before the Council, which he never failed to do on like Occasions; thinking possibly, that respectable Body might be of Opinion, that a Gentleman of any political Party may be supposed to have had his Orchard or Fruit-Gardens robbed by *liquorish Boys*, without making a formal Representation before his Majesty's first Ministers of State. As the Governor will still have it that the Commissioners were "*driven to the Castle for Safety*," we take Occasion to observe here, that it was notorious, that they frequently landed on the Main, and made Excursions into the Country; visiting the Lieutenant-Governor and other Gentlemen at their Seats, where it would have been easy to have seized them if any Injury had been intended them; which as his Majesty's Council very justly have observed, "*demonstrated the Insincerity of their Declarations*," as it did those of the Governor "*that they immured themselves at the Castle for Safety*."

Another Part of the Detail in this Letter is the Rescue of a Vessel which had been seized by the Custom-House Officers. It seems by Governor Bernard's Account, it had been "*thought proper to try an Experiment*;" for says he, "*When the Sloop was seized which occasioned the Riot, and in Consequence of which the Commissioners were obliged to leave the Town, the greatest Part of the Resentment was expressed against the putting her under the Care of the Man of War*;" which was very true, and he might have also said, the making the Seizure with an *armed-Force*, and therefore, he adds, "*when this Schooner was seized, it was left at the Wharf, under no other Care but two Custom-House Officers*," in hopeful, no doubt, if not certain Expectation, that the Rescue would be made, from

whence it might possibly be made to appear that the Repentment against the Proceedings of the Custom-House Officers in the former Instance, as being violent and illegal, was mere Pretence. The Rescue was made, and it was universally displeasing to the Town. The Governor says, "this very Molasses was the next Day returned," and tells his Lordship, that "the Selectmen of the Town sent for the Master of the Schooner," and "ordered him to return it, under Pain of the Displeasure of the Town;" which is a gross Misrepresentation of the Matter, and artfully designed to prepare for the subsequent ungenerous Remark, that "all Government is now in the Hands of the People." A good Magistrate would have rejoiced in this Instance of the People's voluntarily affording their Aid in the Recovery of the King's Due, which had been rescued from him, without torturing his Invention to find an ill-natured Construction for it: But Governor Bernard is disturbed that "the Humour of the People," which he says this was done "to please," should ever coincide with their Duty to their Sovereign—The voluntary Association of the People to promote Peace and good Order, he had before said "carried an Implication of Danger" to the Government; and now, when they seem to unite in taking Measures for the Execution of a Law, although in its Nature disagreeable to the People, why truly "the Government is in the Hands of the People, and not of those deputed by the King, or under his Authority." But if the People had a View to save their own Reputation in this Piece of Service to the Crown, as the Governor intimates, surely he will not say it was "ill judged" or "ill-timed." The Truth is, they had a *particular* View at this Time to prevent Governor Bernard's improving this Rescue, which they were in no Sort concerned in, to the Prejudice of the Town, as had been his constant Practice in other Cases, and as it now evidently appears he intended; And it was certainly a wise Precaution; though a candid Mind will by no Means exclude any other *good* Intentions.—We cannot forbear taking Notice here with *Freedom*, of a very extraordinary Assertion of Governor Bernard, in this Letter to his Lordship. That "every Seizure made, or attempted to be made on Land at Boston for these three Years past, before these two Instances, had been violently rescued or prevented."—An Assertion

sertion so notoriously false, that few Men could have made it without Blushing : and we may suppose even Governor Bernard himself would not have made it, had he apprehended it would ever have become Public*. — The Officers of the Customs themselves will not venture to affirm it. If the Assertion is true, his Majesty's Council must have been egregiously mistaken when they declare that “no Instance can be alledged of any Vessel seized, or any Seizure whatever, in the Town of Boston being rescued out of the Hands of the Officers, except what took Place here on the 8th of July Instant, when a Quantity of Molasses (this very Molasses having been seized, was taken away from the Officers who had Charge of it ; which unwarrantable Proceeding being universally condemned, the Molasses was very soon returned.” As this base Story was *invented* and told by Governor Bernard, with the sole Intention of casting an Odium upon the Town, we have Reason to expect his Retraction of it ; or he must bear the Reproaches of an highly injured Community, and the just Censures of all impartial Men. After these false and injurious Assertions, he thinks it a proper Time to acquaint his Lordship, that the one Regiment which he had the flattering Expectation of, from a Letter he had received from General Gage, “ though it might secure the Castle, would not be sufficient to *awe the Town* ;” which was in Effect asking for more. Thus we see the Means which Governor Bernard and his Confederates have been incessantly using to accomplish their Designs ; and strange as it may in some better Times hereafter appear, these Means, and these very Instruments at Length prevailed to introduce a military Power into this Town—A Power which is daily trampling on our Laws, contemning our

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- * It is remarkable that Governor Bernard, not long before these Letters were made publick, expressed to a certain Gentleman, his earnest Wish, that the People of this Province could have a Sight of all his Letters to the Ministry, being assured that they would thereby be fully convinced that he was a Friend to the Province.— Indeed he made a Declaration to the same Purpose, in one of his publick Speeches to the House of Representatives. Upon the arrival of the Letters however, he discovered, as some say, a certain Paleness, and complained of as an Hardship that his Letters, wrote in Confidence, should be exposed to the View of the Publick.—A striking Proof of the Baseness, as well as the Persidy of his Heart !

Religion,

Religion, and invading the Rights both of Persons and Property—A Power by which a truly loyal but long-abused and highly provoked Community, is, not indeed *aroused*, but distressed—And were it not for the certain Advice that our humble and dutiful Supplications have at Length reached the Royal Hand, we should be reduced even to a State of Desperation !

Governor Bernard in his Letter to Lord Hillsborough of the 16th of September, begins with acquainting his Lordship with the *prudent* Methods he took, to communicate the Expectation of the Troops *gradually*, for Fear of certain ill Effects that might arise from their sudden Arrival. And no wonder that the Man who had long been representing a whole Country as *Rebels* ; and had been *one* of the *principal* Instruments in bringing such a Curse upon it, should at that Juncture be under some Apprehensions of Danger. In his last Letter he talks of his *personal Courage*, and tells Lord Hillsborough that “ he did not feel his own *Firmness of Mind* to fail : ” He also mentions “ the *spirited Conduct* of the Lieutenant-Governor ; and with Pleasure assures his Lordship that “ he could depend upon *his* Resolution and Steadiness, as much as he could upon *his own* ; ” from whence he concludes that “ there would be no Want of a *due* Enforcement of the Laws to the Correction of the present Abuses : ” — But *now* he seems to be conscious of Fear ! — Happy was it for him, that he was in the Hands of a People, who attended to the Dictates of sound Policy, Religion, and Loyalty — He first opens this Matter to one of the Council, and tells him that “ he had private Advice that Troops were ordered hither, but that he had no public Orders about it himself ; ” and he observes that “ it quickly was very thoroughly circulated all over the Town, ” and the *Faction* immediately took the Alarm . ” By this he would insinuate that the better Sort of the People, and even the Generality of the Town, were well enough pleased with it. If the *Faction only* took the Alarm, the Generality of the Town must have been included in the *Faction* : For in Truth, he had the Mortification of seeing the whole Body of the People, saving his own very few Adherents, who were properly an *implacable Faction*, thoroughly awakened and alarmed at the sudden Expectation

peftation of a military Force, which had indeed been often threatned by this Faction, but few realized it before— And now the Pimps were all immediately sent out, who no doubt were rewarded in Proportion to their Succes in the Buſineſs; and the Governor ſoon had Intelligence brought to him of the Converſation of “ *private Companies* :” And that in one “ it was the general Opinion to raiſe the Country and oppoſe the Troops ;” in another “ it was reſolved to ſurprize and take the Caſtle.” How ridiculously impertinent muſt he appear in the Eyes of Men of Senſe, after all to acquaint his Lordſhip, that, “ he does not relate theſe Accounts as *certain* Facts.” To what Purpoſe then did he relate them at all ! It ſeems that he was full as *deſigning*, in communicating to Lord Hillsborough, as he was in communicating to the People, though his Deſigns were different : For the People were not to be told the *whole* that the Governor knew to be true ; but his Lordſhip was to be induced to believe *more* :—In either Caſe if the Purpoſe could be ſerved, Sincerity was out of the Queſtion. Uncertain however as theſe Facts were, his Lordſhip is informed, that they were yet “ believed !” Strange, as they were ſaid to be Facts of Yeſterday, that no one, after all the Pains that had been taken, could make them *certain* ; and if they were not to be made certain, ſtranger ſtill that any in their Senſes ſhould *believe* them.—Some Men are very apt to believe that which they *wiſh* were true : This no doubt is the preſent Caſe.—And beſides, we are to remember, that more than two Regiments were wanted to *arrest the Town* ; and if the Governor could boldly ſay, that theſe Reports, vage as they were, had obtained *any* Credit here, no Matter *by whom* believed, they would have ſome Weight. But he muſt be preſumed to think very *injudiciously* of the Head or the Heart of a *Minifter of State*, to ſuppoſe that ſuch an undigeſted and ridiculous Account of Things would influence *his* Meaſures. Nothing, we ſhould think, but the great Candor which has ever appeared in Lord Hillsborough towards Governor Bernard, could have prevented his ſevereſt Cenſure.—But admitting they were true, which was by no Means the Caſe, certainly the Town is not accountable for what one of his Excellency’s Spies might have overheard in a “ *private Company*.”

— Let us then conſider the Account the Governor gives

gives of the *publick* Conduct of the Town, at a Meeting legally called on Monday, September 12. And first he says, "at the Hall the Faction appeared surrounded with all it's Forces;" and an Appearance very *decent* at least, it seems, they were capable of making according to the Governor's Account. For he tells his Lordship, "a Set of Speeches by the Chiefs of the Faction, and *no one else*, followed in such *Order* and *Method*, that every Thing, both as to *Matter* and *Order*, seemed to have been preconcerted;" while alas! the "very few principal Gentlemen there," the better Sort in the Governor's Estimation, appeared "as curious, perhaps *anxious* Spectators!" Where is now the little Remains of an *expiring Faction*, which he had so often told the World of? The Tone is wonderfully altered; the Body of the People are now *truly* represented as united firm and *regular* in their Opposition to his Measures, while his own *few Partizans*, who yet must be stiled "*the principal Gentlemen*," though expecting every Moment to be "surrounded with all *their* Forces," appeared inquisitive and *anxious* for the Event! "But nothing was resolved upon, says the Governor, but to put two Questions to me, and appoint a general Committee to consider and report." The main Question to the Governor was, Whether he had certain Expectation of the Troops? To which he answered with an artful Ambiguity, that he had private Advice, but no publick Orders about it. His private Advice might have been *certain*: or he might have had *authentick* publick Advice without publick Orders about it, for General Gage was Commander in Chief of the King's Forces. Being however somewhat pressed by the Committee who waited on him, he discovered a Duplicity for which he has a peculiar Talent, and said, that he would not have the Town *certainly* expect the Troops; although he then expected them himself, and fully believed they were on their Passage from Hallifax; and in this Letter to Lord Hillsborough he tells him, that it was at that very Time his Intention to communicate these Expectations of them *gradually*. — His Account of divers Speeches made in the Town Meeting is as uncertain, and with Regard to some of them, as untrue, as the Intelligence he had received of the *private Conversation*: Perhaps it was carried to him by the same Hands, as some of *his* principal Gentlemen were there.

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The Resolves and Determinations of this Meeting, as the Governor says, were published to the World; and they remain on the Records of the Town that Posterity may judge of them. The Town has seen no Reason since to revoke these Resolves, notwithstanding they have been sentenced as "very dangerous Resolves, procured by mad People," by so exquisite a Judge, in Matters which regard *civil* Government, as well as so polite a Gentleman as General Gage. The Governor himself has been since respectfully requested by the Selectmen, in Behalf of the Town, to shew in what Respect the Resolves and Proceedings of this very Meeting had militated with Law; but he declined it: And we believe he declined it, because he was not able to do it. Spirited indeed they were, but not too spirited for the Times.—When the Constitution is *threatened*, the Principles of the Constitution must, if ever, be asserted and supported.—The Governor indeed takes Notice of our Claim to a certain Clause in the Bill of Rights as "a large Stride:" But as we are free British Subjects, we claim all that Security against arbitrary Power, to which we are entitled by the Law of God and Nature, as well as the British Constitution. And if a Standing Army may not be posted upon the Subjects in one Part of the Empire, in a Time of Peace, without their Consent, there can be no Reason why it should in any other; for all British Subjects are, or *ought to be*, alike free.—

The Governor in a former Letter to Lord Hillsborough mentioned the Selectmen's ordering the Arms belonging to the Town to be brought out and cleaned; and to make something of the Story, he told him that "they were exposed some Hours at the Town-House." In this Letter he says "these Arms were deposited in Chests, and laid upon the Floor of the Town-Hall to *remind the People of the Use of them*," Could any one besides Governor Bernard, descend to so pitiful an Artifice as to insinuate that these Arms were cleaned, exposed to the People, and finally laid on the Floor of the Hall at this Juncture, to induce his Lordship to believe, that *these* were the Forces with which the Faction appeared "surrounded," and that the Selectmen who are the principal City Magistrates, and the leading Part of the Town itself were actually in the Plan which he had just before mentioned, as concerted in one of the private Meetings, "to raise the Country and oppose the Troops:" And

that these Arms deposited in Chests were laid on the the Floor of the Hall, "to remind the People of the Use of them," and inspirit them for the Purpose of opposing the 'Troops. Whereas the simple Truth of the Matter is, these Arms had for many Years been deposited in Chests, and laid on the the Floor of the Town-Hall; but the Hall itself being burned a few Years ago, the Arms were saved from the Ruins, and carried to the Town-House: After the Hall was rebuilt, the Town ordered their Removal there; and though it happened to be done at a Juncture when the Governor and his Confederates talked much of the Town's *re-volting*, there was no other Thought in the Minds of any, except the Governor and a few more; and it is a Question whether even he, or they, really thought otherwise, but to lodge them in their proper and *usual* Place.

We cannot help taking Notice, how very exact the Governor sometimes is, even in the Choice of Words, in his "Detail of Facts" to a Minister of State: An Instance of which we have now before us, wherein he mentions to his Lordship his inclosing "a blank Copy of the *Precept* (as he is pleased to call it) which the Selectmen have used," it is a Wonder it was not *issued*, for that would have made it appear more *formal*, "in calling together the Convention;" from whence he takes Occasion to say, it was, "a daring Assumption of the Royal Authority." Here then is the Treason, and Misprision of Treason, or a Part of it at least, about which there has been such an Eclat of late; for which the Governor tells his Lordship, in his *Detail* of the Convention, every Well-wisher of the Province, of whom he is doubtless one, "most devoutly desires the Charter may be forfeited."—And some of the Leaders were to be sent to England to be tried there—Nay, his Lordship, or some one of his Majesty's Servants is informed that they expected it themselves; for Commodore Hood in one of his short and *pithy* Epistles, says, "they were alarmed, and expected nothing less than a Voyage to England against their Inclination."—But his Lordship's *deep* Penetration might have discovered that this "Precept to call a Convention" was nothing more than a *friendly circular Letter* to the Selectmen of the several Towns in the Province, *desiring* them to *propose* to their respective Towns the sending Committees, to join with those of the Town of Boston, in consulting Measures to promote Peace and good

Order : which was so far from an Assumption of the Royal Authority, that it assumed not the least Shadow of any *Authority* whatever—This very innocent Measure of the Town in “ calling together a Convention ” as the Governor expresses it, which he so highly censures, and upon the Promoters of which he loudly calls for the national Vengeance, was most certainly attended with all the happy Effects for which it was proposed : For the general Sentiments of the Province were thereby collected, which could not otherwise have been done ; the Governor having arbitrarily dissolved the General Assembly, and positively refused to call another, against the dutiful Petition of the Convention itself, as well as of the Town, even before they proposed or thought of it—The several Towns having the Opportunity of conferring together by their Committees, had the same Effects which followed a certain *circular Letter*, which formerly so perplexed his Excellency ; for the People became the more united in the Measures proper to be taken for the Preservation of their common Rights at so critical and alarming a Juncture. And though the Governor says “ at the Fountain Head it was intended to provoke Resentment,” yet to this very Measure has been imputed, in some small Degree at least, whether justly or not, it becomes not this Town to say, that *Prudence* as well as Firmness and Perseverance in the Cause of Liberty, of which it is hoped this Country will forever avail itself. Even Governor Bernard cannot but own that the Convention discovered “ Moderation ” and “ a temperate Conduct,” which is far from being inconsistent with *true Fortitude* : But he is not willing that the Town of Boston should “ *assume* the Merit of it.” They are very far from a Disposition thus to assume : They are content to have that Share of Merit which their beloved Countrymen are willing they should have. And though he would insinuate to his Lordship, with his usual Cunning, that there was at the Convention an *essential* Difference of Sentiments between the Town and the Country ; and that “ many of the *Deputies* came down with a Disposition and Instructions to prevent the Bostoners (as he elegantly expresses himself) involving the Province in the Consequences of their own mad Devices ;” and that many of them “ were from the beginning sensible of the Impropriety and Danger of this Proceeding ;” His Lordship, as “ they printed what they did,”

did," has no doubt been since convinced that they were united in their sentiments of the common Cause.

But this very peaceable proposal, the Governor thinks, exceeded the "Great Rebellion when it was at the highest, and the Confusion arising therefrom most urgent for some extraordinary Measures." Here is the Burden of the Song—*extraordinary Measures!* And surely his Lordship must propose some *very extraordinary* Measures to chastise a *greater* than the Great Rebellion, even when it was at the highest.—Not content with pouring forth this Torrent of Zeal, the Governor still presses upon his Lordship; and assures him that "unless it is prevented by some Power from without, not only the Crown Officers will be excluded," but "every Ingredient of Royalty" in the government of the Province will be totally destroyed—What Rhetorick! to arrest his Lordship's Attention, and hurry him on to conclude with the Governor, that "the Force already ordered by General Gage, viz. two Regiments, will not be sufficient."—In order still to heighten the Ideas of an intended Rebellion, the Governor adds, "It is now a great Question whether the King's Troops will be suffered to enter the Town or not." And "the Design against the Castle is now so well known, that it is probable that the very Names of the People who were enrolled for that Service to the Number of Five Hundred, or of the Chiefs of them will be discovered. It is pretty remarkable the Governor in the former part of this Letter informed his Lordship, that he did not relate *this very* Account as a certain Fact; his Spies must then make very quick Rotations, and the Intelligence flow in very vast, to be so well assured of it before he concluded; or the Governor must be so unfortunate, perhaps not having Time in the Multiplicity of his Affairs, to keep a regular *Diary*, as to forget what he had wrote, and as we every now and then find it happens, in the "*overflowings*" of his Zeal, to be inconsistent with himself.

It would be an endless Task to take particular Notice of every false and injurious Representation contained in these voluminous Letters*. No one can read them without being astonished

* Indeed it might be said, *the whole world would not contain all the Remarks that might be justly made upon them.* One instance, however, seems to have been overlooked by the Town; and

astonished at seeing a Person in so important a Department as Governor Bernard sustained, descending in his Letters to a Minister

and as it is an Instance of Importance, it is hoped, its being noticed in the Margin will not be thought amiss. The Governor, after having prevailed upon the Council, at a very *thin* Board, and by a Majority of *One* out of only *Eleven* Gentlemen present, to advise to the clearing the Manufactory-House in Boston, for the Reception of a Part of the two Irish Regiments then expected; in his Letter to Lord Hillsborough of Nov. 1st, he gives him an Account of the Steps he had ordered for the Removal of the Families out of the House. And it seems, that the Governor, by a Power which he had *assumed*, appointed the Sheriff and two of his Deputies, Bailiffs for the Governor and Council, for the Purpose: These Families however refused to submit to *such* Authority, even though the Chief Justice himself *condescended* to go with the Sheriff, and *advised* them to give up the House. The Sheriff upon the third Attempt says the Governor, "finding the Window open, entered; upon which the People gathered about him and shut him up: he then *made a Signal* to an Officer who was without, who brought a Party of Soldiers, who took Possession of the Yard of the Building, and relieved the Sheriff from his Confinement."—This is the Governor's Account of the Matter; but others give a very different Account of it, and say that the Sheriff attempted a *forceable* Entry, and was resisted by the People within the House; and by them *only*: Certain it is, that one of them commenced an Action of Trespass against the Sheriff; but what became of the Action the Records of the Court of Common-Pleas will best show: It is also certain that an Officer, a *Military* Officer, was without and *at Hand*; and upon a Signal from the Sheriff, brought a Party of Soldiers, the whole Regiment being then encamped in Sight on the Common; and the *Soldiers* (not the Inhabitants as the Governor asserts) "kept the House blockaded all that Day and best Part of the next." It is further certain, and it may be attested by the Oaths of divers Persons of Credit, that Offers were made to the Sheriff, of sufficient Aid in the legal Execution of his Office, if he would dismiss the Troops; illegal Steps being at the same Time excepted against.—Great Numbers of People during the *Siege* as it may be properly called, were collected in the Street, which is as spacious as in any Part of the Town, but the Governor owns they did no Mischief: He indeed represents it in his usual Manner, as a GREAT MOB assembled with some of the Chiefs of the *Faction*, intimating thereby as in his former Letters "an intended Insurrection:" The General on the other Hand says the Matter "occasioned a little Disturbance of no consequence;" but takes Care to add, that "it served to show a most obstinate Spirit of Opposition to every Measure of Government." The Governor further says, the Inhabitants "were very abusive to the Soldiers:—The Contrary is most certainly

a Minister of State, to such trifling Circumstances, and such slanderous *Chit-chat*: Boasting as he does in one of his Letters, of his *over-reaching* those with whom he was transacting publick Business; and in Order to prejudice the most respectable Bodies, meanly *filching* from Individuals belonging to those Bodies, what had been dropped in the Course of Business or Debate: Journalizing every idle Report brought to him, and in short acting the Part of a Pimp rather than a Governor.—As these Letters, being now made publick, will be a Monument of Disgrace to him, it cannot be supposed, that any Honour can be derived from them, to those great Men to whom they were addressed.

tainly and *notoriously* true. He says also, That “the Soldiers were withdrawn on the Evening of the second Day:” So far is this from Truth, that the Guard of Soldiers, to whose Custody the Sheriff committed the Cellar of the House, which he had got the Possession of, kept their post a *much longer* Time; and Application was made to divers of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for their Removal *by the Force of Law* near *three Weeks* after. And again the Governor says, that “this Building was kept filled with the Outcast of the Workhouse, to prevent its being used for the Accommodation of the King’s Troops;” which is contradicted by the *Oaths* of all the Overseers of the Poor, who must have known it if it had been true, for the Care and Government of the Workhouse is by Law vested in them. The Truth is, the People gathered upon this extraordinary Occasion, but were very peaceable; some few it may be to carry Intelligence to the Governor, but by far the greater Part, from a just Abhorrence of this *Measure of Government*, to borrow the general Expression, and an Anxiety for the Event of this *first open and avowed* Effort of *Military TYRANNY*! The Governor declares, that the Council, who were alarmed at the Violence of this Proceeding, must have known that the Entry “could not have been made without Force,” and he sufficiently explains what *Sort of Force* he meant in the Reason he gives, why the Soldiers were withdrawn for that Time, which was, because “the Building was not immediately wanted,” the Irish Regiments, for whom it was designed, as was *pretended*, not being yet arrived.—Perhaps the Governor gives this *circumstantial* Account to his Lordship to confirm what he had before said, that “Two Regiments were not sufficient to AWE THE TOWN!”—This Attack upon the Security of People’s *Dwelling-Houses*, was as *violent* as has ever been known even under the most *despotic* Governments, though happily it proved unsuccessful. This is one of the *bright Glories* of BERNARD’s Administration: He who with so much *Readiness* and exact *Propriety* afforded the Aid of his *Advice*, and PREJUDGED the Matter, claims however his Share in the Annals of Fame.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the Town have been obliged in Justice to themselves, to say thus much in their own Vindication, we should yet be glad, that the ancient and happy Union between Great-Britain and this Country, which Governor Bernard has so industriously laboured to interrupt, might be restored. Some have indeed flattered themselves with the Prospect of it; as Intelligence is said to have been received from Administration, that *all* the Revenue Acts would be repealed: But as it since appears by Lord Hillsborough's own Account, that nothing more is intended, than the taking off the Duties on Paper, Glass, and Painter's Colours, upon commercial Principles only; if that is all, it will not give Satisfaction: It will not even relieve the Trade from the Burdens it labours under; much less will it remove the Grounds of Discontent, which runs through the Continent, upon much higher Principles. Their Rights are invaded by these Acts; therefore until they are *all* repealed, the *Cause* of their just Complaints cannot be removed: In short, the Grievances which lie heavily upon us, we shall never think redressed, till *every Act*, passed by the British Parliament for the express Purpose of raising a Revenue upon us without our Consent, is repealed; till the American Board of Commissioners of the Customs is dissolved; the Troops recalled, and Things are restored to the State they were in before the late extraordinary Measures of Administration took Place.

Besides these Letters of Governor Bernard, we find others written by General Gage and Commodore Hood. And we cannot but observe, that although both these Gentlemen were perfect Strangers in the Town, they have yet taken such extraordinary Freedoms, and the General in particular has wrote in such a positive Strain, as must unavoidably give high Disgust to every Reader of Candor and Impartiality. — If these Gentlemen received the Character of the Town, or of any of its Individuals, from Governor Bernard, as we are ready to think they did, they must have been long before convinced, if they knew any Thing at all of the State of the Town, that the Governor was too deeply interested in *misrepresenting*, to be credited in a Point of that Importance; and therefore common Justice would have dictated a Suspension of their publick Testimony to the Prejudice of a Community, till they could have had the

the Opportunity of doing it upon impartial Enquiry, or *their own* Observation.—The General seems to have early imbibed some Sort of Prejudice against a Town, that had been before prejudiced in *his* Favour: For the Governor in one of his Letters to Lord Hillsborough acquaints him, that the General^l had sent Captain Montresor from New-York to assist the Forces as *Engineer*, and enable them to RECOVER and maintain the Castle, and such other Posts as they could secure, upon Intelligence that the People in and about Boston had *revolted*. Now even the Governor himself declares this to be a mistake, and says that Things were not quite “so bad as that came to.”—As there are two constant and regular Posts between this Town and New-York, each of which carries Intelligence from the one to the other in the Course of a Week; and more especially as he might reasonably expect authentick Accounts of a Matter of such Importance, by Express in a shorter Time; it is strange, if the General’s Mind was unbiassed, that he should so strongly rely upon private Advice, as to form his Measures from them, which the Governor asserts.—It was a Measure of Importance, as it issued, to the Town: for Colonel Dalrymple who had the Command of the Regiments, from the *Authority of these new Orders*, as the Governor declares, thought proper to alter the Plan, which was to land only one, and landed *both* the Regiments in Boston without Loss of Time. Perhaps it was under the Impression of these *private Advices*, and “the Narrative of the Proceedings of the Town Meeting,” which the Governor also mentions as influential on the General’s Measures, and which possibly was a Narrative of the Governor’s *own writing*, that so wrought upon the General’s Imagination, as to induce him to give his Opinion to his Lordship that the “Intentions of the Town were suspicious, and that he was happy the Troops from Halifax arrived at the Time they did!” These and many such like *unprovoked* Expressions are to be found in the Letters of both these Gentlemen, and especially the General’s; but as they partake of a full Portion of the Spirit of Governor Bernard’s, and as the Sense of this Province fully appears in the late spirited Resolves of the House of Representatives, we shall avoid troubling the Publick with particular Remarks upon them, and to borrow an Expression of *great Authority*, “treat them with the Contempt they deserve.”

The TOWN of BOSTON,

At their Meeting beforementioned, came into the following Resolutions, viz.

Resolved,

THAT the Letters and Memorials of Governor Bernard and the Commissioners of the Customs, in America, transmitted by them respectively to his Majesty's Ministers, and laid before the Parliament of Great Britain, authentic Copies of which are now before this Town, had a Tendency to deceive the Ministry, and led them unavoidably to misinform his Majesty, with Regard to the Affections and Loyalty of his American Subjects in general : And that the said Governor Bernard, and the Commissioners, have particularly, in their Letters and Memorials before-mentioned, discovered an implacable Enmity to this Town, and the most virulent Endeavours to traduce it even to his Majesty himself ; by Means whereof the Inhabitants very sensibly feel the Displeasure of their Gracious Sovereign.—

Resolved,

That this Town have Reason to rejoice in the Measure taken by the Honourable House of Representatives, in the last Session of the General Assembly ; by so seasonably preferring their Dutiful and Loyal Petition to his Majesty, for the Removal of Governor Bernard *for ever* from the Government of this Province : And the Town take this Opportunity to ex-

press their most ardent Wish, that the Prayer of the said Petition to his Majesty, may be graciously heard and granted.

Resolved,

That General Gage and Commodore Hood, in their several Letters to his Majesty's Ministers and Servants, authentic Copies of which are now before this Town, have discovered an unreasonable Prejudice against the Town. And the General in particular, in declaring in his Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Hillsborough, one of Majesty's Secretaries of State, that, "*in Truth, there was very little Government in Boston;*" and in making Use of other Expressions *alike severe*, has done great Injustice to the Town, and an irreparable Injury. And it is, moreover, the Opinion of the Town, that the *Readiness* he has discovered to receive unfavourable Impressions of it, and the public Testimony he was prevailed upon to bear against it, before he could have Time to make an impartial Enquiry, betrayed a Want of *Candor*, unbecoming his Station and Character.

Resolved,

That many of the Letters and Memorials aforesaid, are false, scandalous, and infamous Libels upon the Inhabitants of this Town, Province and Continent, of the most virulent and malicious, as well as dangerous and pernicious Tendency: And that the Selectmen be, and hereby are, directed to apply and complain to proper Authority, that the wicked Authors of those incendiary Libels, may be proceeded with according to Law, and brought to condign Punishment.

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